Contents

Tables and Figures

Foreword by Friedhelm Neidhardt xi

Preface xv

Glossary xix

Part I: Introduction

1 Two Related Stories 3
2 Historical Context 24
3 Methods 45

Part II: Major Outcomes

4 The Discursive Opportunity Structure 61
5 Standing 86
6 Framing 105

Part III: Representing Different Constituencies

7 Representing Women's Claims 131
8 Representing Religious Claims 154
9 Representing the Tradition of the Left 179

Part IV: The Quality of Abortion Discourse

10 Normative Criteria for the Public Sphere 205
11 Measuring the Quality of Discourse 232
Contents

12 Metatalk 255

13 Lessons for Democracy and the Public Sphere 286

   Methodological Appendix 305

   References 325

   Index 339
Tables and Figures

TABLES

3.1 Total Number of Articles Published and Sampled by Years by Newspaper  page 47
3.2 Weighted Number of Articles, Speakers, Utterances, and Ideas by Newspaper  53
5.1 Overall Standing by Country  90
5.2 Social Movement Organizations in Germany and the United States: Comparing Resources and Media Sophistication  95
6.1 Summary of Abortion Frames  109
6.2 Overall Distribution of Frames by Country  111
7.1 Women's and Abortion-Rights Organizations by Country  148
8.1 Relative Standing of Religious Speakers by Country  167
8.2 Media Relations by Type of Anti-Abortion Group and Country  170
10.1 Normative Criteria in Democratic Theory  229
11.1 Proportionality of Bundestag Seats and Media Standing by Legislative Period  234
11.2 Center and Periphery in U.S. and German Articles  235
11.3 Dialogic Structure of Articles by Country  240
11.4 Rebuttal Rate and Incivility by Country and Dialogic Structure of Articles  242
11.5 Rebuttal Rate and Incivility by Co-Presence of Center and Periphery and Country  243
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURES</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Theoretical Model of Forum</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Number of Articles in Sampling Frame by Year by Country</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Number of Utterances by Year by Country</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Standing for Nonstate, Party Speakers over Time by Country</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Anti-Abortion Frames by Country</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Pro-Abortion-Rights Frames by Country</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 German Constitutional Cluster by Country</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 U.S. Constitutional Cluster by Country</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1 Women’s Standing by Country</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2 Gender and Framing Direction by Country</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3 Women’s Rights Frames by Gender, Country, and Time Period</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1 Policy Direction by Type of Civil Society Speaker</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2 Fetal Life Frame by Type of Civil Society Speaker</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1 Inclusion of Social Injustice Ideas by Country over Time</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2a Use of Social Needs and Autonomy Ideas in Germany</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2b Use of Social Needs and Autonomy Ideas in the United States</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3a Abortion Positions for Party Speakers in the United States</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3b Abortion Positions for Party Speakers in Germany</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4 Social Problems/Autonomy Balance Among Pro Party Speakers</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.1 Inclusion of Social Movements as Framing Speakers in Civil Society</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2 Use of Autonomy Language by Women Pro and Neutral Speakers</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3a Focusing of Framing over Time by Country (All frames)</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3b Focusing of Framing over Time by Country (Pro frames)</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3c Focusing of Framing over Time by Country (Anti frames)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>